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Spirits and Demons in Arabia

By A. S. TRITTON

THE Arabs believed in the existence of beings to which they gave commonly the generic name "djinn". For convenience we may call them spirits. Muḥammad carried these ideas over into Islam where theologians developed and systematized them. These Muslim ideas are of no interest to the student of folk-lore unless it can be shown that they contain older material.

Djinn, the commonest name for these spirits, is probably a genuine Arabic word derived from the root meaning to cover, conceal. Some have thought that it is a foreign word, coming perhaps from Africa; but the likeness to the Latin genius is probably due to chance. Another name for them is kháfi, which means the same as djinn. Djinn itself is a collective, with the singular djinni, belonging to the class djinn; djánn is both singular and collective. They are also called "the people of the earth".1

The name hinn is said to denote the weaker djinn, one tribe of them, or spirits intermediate between them and men. It is also given to black dogs; but it would appear that no sharp distinction was drawn between the spirit and the animal, to judge by the tradition: "If hinn come to you while you are eating throw them something for they have desires." That is, the evil eye will smite you. Djinn are often associated with noise, so hinn may be derived from the idea of a faint weird noise; cf. "the wizards that chirp and mutter". 3

There are special names for different sorts of djinn.

Ghúl comes from a root meaning to destroy.

'ifrit is said to come from the root meaning to roll in the dust, to overcome, and so is given to powerful spirits.

¹ Ibn Hishám, 258.

² Lisán al Arab, xvi, 289.

³ Isaiah viii, 19.

Si lát usually denotes a female. The form is unusual and si lat and si lá also occur. One author states that si lá denotes a male djinn and thi lát a female. Presuming the text to be correct, we have four forms of the word and some uncertainty as to the meaning. The root means to cough, which hardly provides a suitable derivation, and combined with the triple or fourfold form suggests a foreign origin. As the si lát is commonly ugly it is tempting to connect it with the Hebrew sa^iir , literally hairy, the name of some sort of demon. The interchange of l and r is common.

Rúh is a kind that attacks children.2

Shiṣḥ is in the form of half a man and often attacks lonely travellers.³ One attacked 'alṣama b. Safwan, who resisted it, and both were killed.

'ámir is any djinn that lives in a house or near mankind.

Shaitán, though a foreign word, found its way to Arabia early, and is used in much the same way as djinn.

These names are not used with scientific exactitude.

Djinn were of airy nature 4: theology, perhaps following a popular superstition, says that they were created from flame or smoke. In modern Egypt one may have flaming eyes or may disappear by turning into fire.⁵ But they were not pure spirit, they are joined with men as "the two having weight".⁶ One was killed by a date-stone which a man threw away.⁷ It is evident that they were imagined as consisting of some material more subtle than that of which humans are made. In another place it is said that they have no bodies.⁸ Or they have no colour and so cannot be seen ⁹; but this looks like

¹ Khizánat al Adab (ed. Muhammad Muhyi l-Din), ii, 188.

² Jahiz, Kitáb al Hayawán, vi, 58.

³ Hayawán, vi, 63.

⁴ Damíri, i, 185 (Cairo 1305).

⁵ Padwick, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, iii, 425.

⁶ Koran, lv, 31.

⁷ Arabian Nights, n. 1.

⁸ L.A., iii, 290.

⁹ Ibn Hazm, Kitáb al Fisal, v. 13.

theological reasoning. One peculiarity is that their eyes are perpendicular, not horizontal as in men; a belief that is found in Arabia to-day.¹

They were organized in tribes under chiefs and princes,² but single members had little or no individuality. Like the Arabs one of them was dangerous because the power of his tribe was behind him and would avenge him if need was.

Certain places were notorious as habitations of djinn; Hamdáni gives a list of places where the noises they made could be heard.³ Other spots are Nisibin,⁴ probably a small town in Arabia and not the famous place in Mesopotamia, Lebanon, Kásiyún in Damascus, Maghárat al-Dam, Mt. Sawákh, Mt. Fath in Egypt, and the peoples Tasm and Jadís. 5 But they were found everywhere; in houses, for the prophet forbad the custom of sacrificing to them when building a new house.6 The name 'amir may refer to a djinn or to a snake. We hear of a charm that worked on the 'amir and that in its turn drove the snake out of its hole.7 They were especially common in the desert, where the traveller was exposed to their wiles.8 Apparently each place had its own spirit; for travellers address "the great one of this place" or "the dweller in the valley"; reminding one of the Baals of Palestine. In later times India and Syria were famous for their djinn. 10 A place full of snakes was full of djinn. 11 A kind of thin black snake was named djinni.12 They could be disturbed by men ploughing virgin soil and when a thicket was set on fire they flew out in the form of white snakes.13 In the last century places of luxuriant vegetation were thought to be homes of the djinn.14 They could also be disturbed

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1 Murúj, iii, 319. Philby, Arabia of the Wahhabis, 259.
2 Hayawán, i, 160. 3 Geography, 128, 154. 4 Damíri, i, 187.
5 Hayawán, vi, 56, 66. Minháj al-Sunna, ii, 85.
6 L.A., xvi, 250. 7 Hayawán, iv, 61.
8 Tarafa, iii, 1. 9 Damíri, i, 190.
10 Hayawán, vi, 72. 11 Hayawán, vi, 56.
12 L.A., iv, 23. 13 Aghání (ed: 1), vi, 92.
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¹⁴ Wrede, Reise in Hadramaut, 177.

by digging wells. The tale of the death of Sa'd b. 'ubáda shows that they haunted rubbish-heaps.¹ To-day it is believed that houses may be haunted by djinn, then they are called maskún; and in Africa djinn live in the ground, in the hearth-stones, the cinders, drains, the staircase, and the latrines.² A bare patch in the middle of grass is their place of prayer.³ In the Egyptian delta they are connected with water and live in disused water-wheels and are fond of throwing people into canals or wells.⁴ This belief is probably due to the nature of the land.

Usually they show themselves at night or in the evening.5 A tradition runs: "At nightfall keep children at home for shaitáns are abroad. When one hour has gone remove the restraint, but shut the doors for a shaitán cannot open a shut door. Tie up the water-skins, cover jars, and put out lamps." 6 They were often invisible though they might be heard or touched, but, as is to be expected, the stories are not consistent. When Hamza al-Zayyát was on his way to Mecca he was seized by two beings whom he felt and heard but did not see. They took him to their tribe, which was met under its chief, and among them he saw the djinn which had composed the poems of Zuhair. Often it seems that they were naturally invisible but could let themselves be seen if they so wished. They appeared in human form but also as animals. It is not always clear if the animal form is the true shape of the spirit or only adopted by it.8 A woman diverted the suspicions of her husband by saying that her paramour, who was hiding in a 'ushr-tree, was the djánn of that tree.9 Often they appear as snakes. The djinn of the hamáta (a kind of tree) were snakes. 10 Many tales are told of men who gave drink

¹ Letters of Abu'l 'alá, 66.

² Jacob, Perfumes of Araby, 190. Goichon, La Vie Feminine au Mzab, 189 f.

³ L.A., xviii, 259.

⁵ Agháni (ed. 3), iv, 125. Zuhair, iii, 11.

⁷ Yákút, Irshád, Vi, 121.

⁹ Hayawán, vi, 52.

⁴ Padwick, 433 f.

⁶ Bukhári, 1xxiv, 22.

⁸ Agháni (ed. 3), iv, 125.

¹⁰ Hayawán, iv, 45.

to snakes or buried dead snakes and these proved to be believing djinn which had listened to the preaching of the prophet. They were closely associated with dogs also. One tale is of a man who thought that a djinni was in an inner room of his house; when at last he had the courage to open the door and a dog ran out he cried: "Praise be to Him who turned you into a dog." Sometimes the dog is said to be of the djinn but less than they, and at others a black dog is a djinni and a spotted dog is a hinn. The limb of one was like a dog's paw and hairy or like thorns, or a hedgehog. A ghúl appeared as a cat.

One peculiarity of the *ghúl* was that it could assume any form it chose with the limitation that its feet were always hoofs.⁵ Herein it resembled the medieval devil of Europe. When Solomon proposed to marry Balkís, who was the daughter of a djinni, the spirits tried to dissuade him by telling him that her feet were those of a donkey (or a horse) and her legs hairy. When the devil appeared to Ibráhím al Mausili he wore short shoes; showing that his feet were not those of men.⁶ One is tempted to connect this idea with the satyrs of Greek story, though these had goats' hoofs. It is curious to find in Morocco a spirit that has cloven hoofs.⁷

No sharp distinction was drawn between the different kinds of spirits. We read of one named Azabb (hairy), another was two spans high and hairy, and yet another was like an African.⁸ The si^{*}lát was, it seems, always human in shape but ugly.

Besides those animals with which djinn are identified, they are associated with others, called often their riding animals, among them the ostrich, gazelle, camel, and sheep, and also the dog. A djinni rode on a hedgehog in the air. The rakiad

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<sup>1</sup> Hayawán, ii, 85.
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³ Damíri, ii, 169. Padwick, 424.

⁵ Hayawán, i, 150.

⁷ Odinot, Le Monde Marocain, 127.

⁸ Ibn Kutaiba, 'uyún al-Akhbár, ii, 110.

Hayawán, i, 150; vi, 14.

² Hayawán, i, 105, 141.

⁴ Damiri, ii, 168.

⁶ Agháni (ed. 3), v, 232.

¹⁰ Hayawán, vi. 74.

(a small fish) was ridden by witches. One report says that the djinn rode the hare but another says they flee from it. The bone of a hare was a strong charm. It is a commonplace of comparative religion that when animals are associated with supernatural forces those forces were once identified with them.

The Arabs did not hunt the riding animals of the djinn after dark, and if any one killed a hedgehog or a certain species of lizard after dark he feared an accident to his stallion.³ This is another example of the spirits having power after dark. Several breeds of camel sprang from djinn so some men refused to pray in a place where camels camped because they were of the stock of *shaitans*.⁴ A close connection with totemism is revealed by the tale that a man named Asad (lion) could not eat in a place where the wild beasts were starving.⁵

Many animals were believed to be metamorphoses, among them the ape, pig, elephant, hare, spider, and cel. The dove is a metamorphosis of the shaitan called of lizard, the ape, and white ants were Jews, the mouse a Jewish witch, and boys cried Jew when they saw a panther. We read of a djinni who was a Jewess. Their food is dung, bones, and urine. They drink seum or any liquid left uncovered; they rush to drink milk that has not been covered, thus revealing their connection with snakes. (explained as uncovered is said also to mean seum.) They envy men their food and, as the poet says, their slaughtered camel is not cooked in pots. They also eat broad beans. In other lands broad beans had evil associations; the Sabians did not eat them; the Flamen Dialis might not touch nor

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    Hayawán, i, 150.
    Hayawán, vi, 14.
    Hayawán, vi, 14.
    Hayawán, vi, 70; vi, 66.
    Hayawán, vi, 162.
    L.A., iv, 23.
    Ghazáli, Ihyá, ii, 66.
    Agháni (ed. 3), iv, 126.
    Hayawán, vi, 162.
    Landini (ed. 3), iv, 126.
    Hayawán, vi, 146; iv, 85.
    Damíri, i, 187.
    Damíri, i, 187.
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name them.1 During a certain ceremony in Japan the head of the house scatters beans saying: "Go away, demons!" In the palace women pick them up, wrap them in paper, and throw them out of doors. Then ghosts pick them up and leave the house alone.2 To-day in part of north Africa it is believed that salt and cinders are the food of djinn, the coriander their apple, and asses' dung their dates.3 It is not good to drink from a vessel with a broken lip for the broken place is a shaitán's buttocks.4

Ghúl are either male or female, they are any sort of spirit that meets travellers and assumes different forms and dress.5 They light fires at night for sport to deceive and mislead wayfarers, calling out to them, "Good evening!" 6 Their nocturnal activities are often mentioned. "They sing song after song and light fires round me." 7 "Night hides the djinn who sing there." 8 A ghúl could be killed by one blow, but a second brought it back to life.9 The si'lát lives mostly in swamps. If one catches a man she plays with him as a cat with a mouse. Should a wolf seize one she cries out: "Help! a wolf is devouring me!" Often she shrieks: "I have a hundred dinars; my rescuer can have them!" 10

The relations of djinn with men were of different sorts. Some tribes were descended from a djinn ancestor as the Banū Si'lát of 'amr of Yarbú'. The father of Jurhum was a fallen angel. 11 'amr b. Tamím married a si'lát, but whenever there was a thunderstorm he had to cover her head so that she might not see the lightning. Once he forgot this and she fled to the land of the si'lát.12 A man married a djinni for the bride-price of a gazelle and a skin of wine.13 An 'ifrit carried away a girl of Fazára and lived with her in a lonely tent,

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<sup>1</sup> Golden Bough, ii, 248; iii, 13.
3 Goichon, 189 f.
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⁵ Hayawán, vi, 48.

⁷ Hayawán, v, 41.

Hayawán, i. 150.

¹⁰ Kazwini (on margin of Damiri), ii, 154.

¹¹ Hayawán, vi, 61. 12 Yákút, Irshád, v, 450. 13 Hayawán, vi, 69.

² Golden Bough, ix, 143, 155.

⁴ Hayawán, vi, 69.

⁶ Hayawán, vi, 60,

⁸ Hayawán, vi. 48.

leaving her at night. She went off with a man. The 'ifrit pursued but the man made his camel kneel, drew a line round it, and recited verses from the Koran. The 'ifrit made several offers to the man to induce him to part with the girl, but he refused them all and kept her. Other stories tell of the magic circle which spirits cannot pass and the idea is not confined to Arabia. Djinn restored to a man his runaway slave, but with paralysed arms. The master was told to blow in his hands and the arms were cured. Thereafter the man was able to cure pain by breathing on the sore place. Once when a wolf carried off a sheep, the shepherd cried: "Dweller in the valley." He heard a voice say: "Wolf, give back the sheep." This was done. Here the djinn is distinctly helpful.

According to a tradition everyone has a djinni as an associate; the prophet's had turned Muslim and told him to do only what was right.4 We are reminded of the daimon of Socrates, the Roman belief in the "genius", and other attendant spirits or doubles. A woman was visited by a djinni called a follower— κ ψ , the L.A. explains this word as lover. One day he came to her but did not do according to his custom; in reply to her question he said that a prophet had come who had forbidden fornication.⁵ A man had a companion named حثوب who caused those who memorized the Koran to forget it.6 An epileptic who was ill for six months in the year and well for six was possessed by the daughter of the lord of the diinn: she explained that if his tribe tried to cure him she would kill him.7 A woman brought her idiot son to the prophet, who stroked his chest and prayed over him; then he vomited a black puppy.8 Hence we get the common sense of madjnún, mad, possessed by the djinn. In

¹ Kazwini, ii, 161.

³ Kazwini, ii, 162.

⁵ Damíri, i, 189.

² Kazwini, ii, 163.

⁴ Damíri, i, 188.

⁶ Hayawán, vi, 60.

⁷ Hayawán, vi, 52. Agháni (ed. 3), iii, 353.

⁸ Hayawán, vi, 69.

South Arabia several words are used in this sense, malmús, makrún, and mashlúl.¹

The djinn had a special connection with poets; the "follower" of a poet was the source of his inspiration. The djinni Zuhair has been mentioned already. Farazdak had a companion named Hamím or Hamám; and al A'sha had Mushil, to name only two.2 During a discussion between two poets one said: "I say a poem every hour but you compose one a month: How is this?" The other said: "I do not accept from my shaitán what you accept from yours." 3 The djinn lamented Málik b. al Raib, who died in Khurasan, because they knew that he was alone in a foreign land. They put the paper with the lament under his pillow in the khan where he died.4 A si'lát met Hassán b. Thábit in his youth before he began to compose poetry, knelt on his chest, and said: "Are you he who is expected by his tribe to become their poet?" He said: "Yes." She said: "Compose three lines of verse with one rhyme, or I will kill you." He did so and she let him go.5 Like men, the djinn when they meet together discuss the merits of the poets. Al-Jáhiz says that the following verse-

cannot be repeated thrice consecutively and therefore is a verse of the djinn.

Sometimes djinn are little more than Puckish, but often they are malevolent and hostile to men. Epidemics are the spears of the djinn.⁸ They hold back the bulls from water and prevent the cattle from drinking; sometimes they even kill them in this way.⁹ They strangled Harb b. Umayya,

¹ Jacob, 160.

³ Jáhiz, Kitáb al Bayán, i, 116.

⁵ Khizánat al Adab, ii, 188.

⁷ Kitáb al Bayán, i, 37.

⁹ Hayawán, i, 10.

² Hayawán, vi, 69.

⁴ Khizánat al Adab, ii, 51.

⁶ Kazwini, ii, 163.

^{*} Hayawán, i, 172. Padwick, 443.

Mirdás b. abí 'ámir, and others; they killed Sa'd b. 'ubáda because he had insulted them—

"We killed the chief of Khazraj, Sa'd b. 'ubáda, We shot two arrows at him and missed not his heart."

and they drove 'amr b. 'adí mad.¹ They strangled Gharíd because he sang a song they had forbidden him to sing. They blew up the penis of 'umára b. Mughíra and he became like a wild beast.² Witches employed the same method to drive a man mad.³ A story shows that snakes were used by the superior powers to punish; a woman who killed her children at birth was devoured by them.⁴

Many precautions are necessary in dealing with the djinn. In north Africa you must say Bismillah before throwing water, especially hot water, out of the door.⁵ Any curiosity about them is bad; a man who saved a djinni from a well was careful to turn away his eyes so as not to see which way it went.6 This shows that though they are usually stronger than men, with sharper eyes, they sometimes need men's help. At times, too, they are delightfully simple, reminding us of the devil's stupidity. They did not know that Solomon was dead till the staff that supported him rotted and his body fell down.8 This weakness is alluded to in a tradition of the prophet; the body in the grave is beaten with iron whips and utters a loud cry, heard by all near, except the two heavy ones (men and djinn).9 Djinn and magic were closely connected. Several instances have already been given. The si'lát was the sorceress of the djinn. They lived in the 'ushr-tree. If a man wanted to be sure of his wife's fidelity during his absence on a journey, he tied two branches of this tree together. If, on his return, they were still united, she had been true to

¹ Hayawán, i, 146; vi, 64. Abu'l 'alá, Letters, 66.

² Hayawán, vi, 64.

⁴ Agháni (ed. 1), xviii, 131 f.

⁶ Hayawán, vi, 14.

⁶ Koran, xxxiv, 13.

³ Agháni (ed. 1), viii, 53.

⁵ (loichon, 189.

⁷ Hayawán, vi, 67.

^{*} Bukhári, i, 150.

him; had they come apart she had been faithless.1 Certain animals and things kept the djinn away. If a white cock with a divided comb is in a house no shaitán will enter it.2 It is said: "Do not kill a cock for shaitán will rejoice." 3 The prophet said: "The cock is my friend, the friend of my friend, and the enemy of God's enemy; he guards his house and four round about it." 3 Among the Zoroastrians the cock was the opponent of demons and it may be Persian influence which made the Arabs ascribe this power to the cock and led them to talk of that other bird which had its comb under the throne of God, its claws in the lowest earth, and its wings in the air, one in the east and one in the west.4 Sorcery cannot harm one who has eaten the flesh of a black cat 5: black cats are so often associated with witches that this prescription looks like a piece of homoopathy. A circle drawn on the ground was a protection against djinn,6 and they will not enter a house where a citron is.7 If a house has been fumigated with incense, "the smoke of Miriam," no 'amir can approach it, and if a witch flies over it she will fall. If a man sleeps between two doors the 'amir will throw him down and the djinn rob him of his senses.8 It is dangerous to sleep at night in a vellow garment, for it is the home of the diinn and 'ámir.9

The neighing of horses frightens the djinn, they will not approach a house where a horse is. 10 Early ideas would seem to underlie two traditions. The sun rises and sets between the horns of shaitans. One tries to stop it rising, but it mounts on his horns and God burns him. One tries to prevent it worshipping God as it sets, but it sets between his horns and God burns him. 11 Theology has been at work here. Abu Bakr

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    Kazwini, ii, 21.
    Hayawán, ii, 189; ii, 75.
    Hayawán, ii, 129.
    Hayawán, ii, 94; cf. vii, 17.
    Hayawán, iv, 14.
    Damíri, i, 187.
    Damíri, i, 195. Subki, Tabakát, iii, 297.
    Hayawán, ii, 75.
    Hayawán, iv, 85.
    Tabari, Commentary, x, 23.
    Khizánat al Adab, i, 172. Ibn Ḥazm, v, 14.
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once invited some men to supper; there was a misunderstanding and he took an oath not to eat before them. As they refused to eat unless he began, he broke his oath that they might not go away hungry; but as he began his meal he said: "The first mouthful is for the shaitán." 1

Miss Padwick says that modern beliefs have little connection with literature, but márid looks a book word though in common use. Curious is the karína, the spirit counterpart of every woman. Sometimes she is a danger to her earthly twin, especially to her children, but sometimes an accident to her is followed by an accident to the earthly children. She often appears as a cat.²

Djinn brought early news of great events. Sawád b. Kárab had a djinn messenger who three days in succession woke him with a kick to say that a prophet had come.³ They brought to Medina news of the battle of Naháwand.⁴ These messengers were the djinn of the soothsayers and were called the post of the djinn.⁵ One man was called the kádi of the djinn,⁶ and Ibn 'alátha settled an affair of blood between them to their satisfaction.⁷

According to the Koran, the people of Mccca made the djinn partners with God,⁸ thought that they were essentially like him,⁹ worshipped them,¹⁰ and sought protection from them.¹¹ It may be that these words are to be taken literally or they may be part of the propaganda for monotheism, the prophet calling the pagan deities djinn in contempt.

Lists of parallels between djinn and men were drawn up; they are in part Islamic but contain older material. Sooth-sayers are the djinn's apostles, tattooing their books, lies their tradition, poetry their religious recitations, the flute their muezzin, the market their mosque, the bath their home, their food whatever has not had the name of God invoked

¹ Bukhári, lxxviii, 87.

² Padwick, 445; cf. Winckler, Salomo und die Karina.

³ Hadikat al Afráh, 41. 4 Abú Yúsuf, Kitáb al Kharáj, 19 f.

⁵ al Bayán, i, 159. ⁶ Damíri, i, 195. ⁷ Hayawán, vi, 69.

⁸ vi, 100. 9 xxxvii, 158. 10 xxxiv, 40. 11 lxxii, 6.

over it, their drink all intoxicating liquor, and their hunting-ground women. Ghazali adapts this to the wiles of evil.

We may mention two practices which are not directly connected with djinn. A governor of Uman wrote to 'umar II: "A witch was brought to us, we threw her into the water, and she floated." The Caliph wrote back: "We have no concern with water. If there is proof, punish her; if not, let her go." The Arabs believed that madness was cured by the blood of certain noble families. "Of the Dárimi are those whose blood is the cure of madness and insanity." This recalls touching for the king's evil.

These beliefs were not peculiar to the Arabs who did not distinguish clearly between natural forces, magic, and spirits. They were growing out of animism.

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¹ Kazwini, ii, 149; Ihyá, iii, 26.

² 'uyún al-Akhbár, ii, 112.

³ L.A., xvi, 248.